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Little Namaqua tribes, says that when a young Hottentot is "made a man" he is first cleansed with water, to do away with his "child" or "goatherd dirt", next rubbed all over with fat, then urinated upon by the old men for three days in succession, after which he is cleansed with the blood of an animal specially killed for the purpose, and finally is again smeared with fat, while at the same time all his cattle are sprinkled with liquid fat. In another context our author states that the boy has also to provide a special meal in which only he and previously-initiated men may take part. This, of course, is the sacramental meal accompanying all these transition rites.[1] Hahn likewise testifies emphatically from his own observations among the Naman that a youth upon being initiated is besprinkled with urine by the magician ("zauberdoctor"); but unfortunately he gives no further details at all about the ceremony.[2]

The fullest account we have of the boys' puberty rites among the Naman is given by Olpp.[3] He states that there is no special time at which they have to be performed. An adolescent youth of any age can be subjected to them, the occasion apparently being determined primarily by the father and by the latter's ability to provide the necessary cattle for slaughter and milking. The boy is then placed under the care of an old man specially selected for this purpose, who naturally has himself long previously undergone the rites.[4] The latter at once proceeds to erect a small mat enclosure inside a bigger hut. Here he stays together with the boy as long as the period of seclusion lasts. The first act on the part of the boy is to clean himself by washing off all the ochre with which he has previously been smeared. Then one of the animals provided for slaughter is killed by the old man, cooked, and the meat shared between him and the boy. Campbell states that the fat of the animal is tied on the head and round the neck of the boy, where it must be worn until it rots and falls away.[5] This, however, is not mentioned by Olpp. The meal over, the old man blows ("blâst") on the upper part of the boy's body, and immediately commences to instruct him in the rules of behaviour proper to a mature man.

These rules Olpp renders in the form of the following precepts:

1 "Berigt aus den Hoven von Plettenberg," 103-4, 94.
2 "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 9.
3 "Aus dem Eigenleben der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 44-9.
4 From a cursory remark by Hahn (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 22) it is the magician (pol and white lion") to perform the rite of making a boy a man".
5 *Travels in S. Africa*, 430.

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"You may not light and smoke your pipe in the camp of strangers or with people whom you do not really know. You may not sit together at a fire and smoke with people, if you know that they have stolen cattle and cooked the meat on that fire. You may not eat the meat of the hare or the jackal, or light your pipe at a fire on which jackal meat has been cooked. Only in case of utmost necessity may you eat zebra or dassie meat. You may also not eat the flesh of those animals which do not chew the cud and have not cloven hooves. You must not catch a goat by the leg and steal its milk. You may not touch a carcase. You must not murder, steal, or lie, fornicate or commit adultery. You must respect age. Otherwise you will become ill." It is probable that in formulating these rules of observance Olpp was to some extent influenced by Old Testament ideas, as in the reference to animals which do not chew the cud, etc. There is no other mention of such a food taboo among the Naman. At the same time there is no doubt that the instruction of the initiate included rules of this nature, and Hahn corroborates some at least of those mentioned by Olpp by his statement that boys when they became of age were told not to lie or steal, and not to ill-treat the other sex or commit rape.[1]

These precepts are impressed upon the boy every day over a period of one or two months. During the whole of this time the boy is allowed to drink only cow's milk, of which he must consume great quantities daily; should he taste any other food, all that is past of the ceremony must be repeated. At the end of the seclusion another animal is slaughtered and its meat eaten by the boy and his teacher. All the meat left over from this meal must be burned, together with the bones, horns, and claws. Then the old man makes several horizontal cuts, 4–6 cm. long, on the breast of the boy, and rubs ashes into the wounds, so that a permanent blue scar is produced.[2] This operation over, the boy is taken by his teacher, accompanied by another of the old men as witness, to the river or waterhole. Here the boy kneels down and touches the water with his mouth, and then the old man hits the water with a stick, so that it splashes up in the face of the boy. The object of this rite, according to Olpp, is to frighten and splash away "the evil heart of the boy"; but there

[1] Op. cit., 78.

[2] Campbell (loc. cit.) states, however, that this scarification is made at the beginning of the seclusion, which lasts for eight days. From Max Hoernlé's personal analysis of the Nama translation cited this would seem to be the more correct view, and the period of seclusion probably lasts only until the wounds have healed. It is almost certain that Olpp has confused the order of the rites.

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421 unobserved by others, to use for himself.[1] And the various ways of acquiring cattle, as well as the internal trade which we have noted, all point clearly to the existence of private property rights. These [685] rights, moreover, are adequately protected. Theft, the furtive or forcible removal of goods belonging to another, is regarded as a serious offence, punishable by severe fines and ostracism, even by [426] flogging, while an incorrigible thief would formerly be killed.[2] The payment of debts, again, is an obligation of honour. If a man is unable to satisfy his creditors, a trustee is appointed to take over and divide his assets among them. He is allowed to keep a few goats and cows, whose milk he may use for the maintenance of himself and his family, but he may not slaughter these animals, for he is regarded as holding them in trust for the creditors.[3]

●577 With all this strict regard for private property rights, greed is far
574 from being a characteristic of the Hottentots. They not only share to the utmost with their fellows, but are also very hospitable to strangers, traits favourably commented upon by many observers.[4] A man in possession of food shares, and is expected to share, it freely with others, and greediness in this respect renders him an object of public scorn.[5] Objects of common use are also readily given away temporarily, and in the majority of cases even permanently. To take a goat from a [685] man's herds for food, even in his absence or without his permission, is not unlawful, provided he is informed of the deed; on the other hand the taking of an animal in order to sell it is prohibited. This hospitality is a general custom arising out of the conditions of the country, where for long distances food is unobtainable, and it is based on the idea of reciprocity. No Hottentot need leave a stranger's hut

[1] "Die Rechte der Hottentotten," 348.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 1728-9; Lichtenstein, op. cit., 318; Wuthrow, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein der Hottentotten," 273; Report on the Natives of S.W.A., 70.

[3] Report on the Natives of S.W.A., 98; Rudner, op. cit., 311-2.

[4] Cf. Kolb, op. cit., 1733; Thunberg, Travels, Homeward Bound, 96; Wikar, op. cit., 730; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 409; von François, op. cit., 100; Lichtenstein, op. cit., 318; Report on the Natives of S.W.A., 70.

[5] An interesting humorous statement of this principle is seen in the following entry made in his diary by Hendrik Witbooi, the famous chief of the Hottentots:—

"Agreement closed with Jonanga, 1890:

"The agreement which I made with François Daniel Visser and with anyone who knows a farm from me is as follows:

"1. I charge him £10 per annum.

"2. If he follows the cows continuously on the farm and if he is continually on the grass people and those cows give them a kiss when they come to him then I charge him £20 per annum.

"3. If strangers come to his farm and he is very hospitable to them but makes them pay for water and pasturage, he does nothing, and, or kisch, then I charge him £30 per annum."

This document is signed by Hendrik Witbooi and witnessed by eight of his councillors. (Quoted by Rath, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," *J. S.W.A. Agric. Soc. Soc.*, 6 (1926-7), 57-8.)

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or camp hungry, especially if of the same tribe; he is welcome, even in the owner's absence, to help himself to whatever there is.

It is customs such as these which have given rise to the use of the term "communism" in regard to the property laws of the Hottentots. It should by now be evident, however, that underlying the undoubtedly far-reaching liberality of the people there is always a clear recognition of private property rights. The Hottentot shares his food with others because he has the right to dispose of it, not because they have an equally legitimate claim to it; and this applies still more to live stock and objects of material culture.

This point is borne out by the special reciprocal relationship, *soaqua*, to which reference has already been made.[1] This relationship, also known as *maqua*, to give one another, must be ceremonially entered upon between the two persons concerned, and implies, as we have seen, mutual obligation and assistance in all aspects of life—they may refuse each other nothing. In practice this applies especially to property, where each may demand or take from the other whatever he pleases, and may not be refused.

Tindall gives a description of this custom which illustrates rather drastically its full implications in regard to property.[2] "It is usual among them [the Namas] to carry on a kind of 'maatschappy' or partnership. Two men, living perhaps three or four hundred miles apart, 'make maties,' the understanding is that each may take from the other whatever he pleases. They profess to believe that this is a very profitable kind of arrangement, and it is difficult to persuade them of the contrary. The following instance will illustrate the extent to which this 'maqua' or 'give-each-other' system proceeds. A poor man at Nisbet Bath, had, by diligence, obtained a horse and gun, he had a good hat, a very decent suit of clothes, a warm overcoat, and his wife had a tolerably respectable wardrobe. One fine morning a man, with whom he had in an evil hour entered into partnership, turned up from the borders of Damaraland, and claimed as his right, horse, gun, hat, clothes, coat, and all his wife's apparel, except her underclothes, and with these he departed with true native easy mind, leaving the other his tattered garments and riddled hat, which had been so repeatedly punched, that it was almost impossible to discern the original stuff. The probable sequel to this affair would be that the man would return his mate's visit, who would either manage to avoid

[1] Cf. Schreiber, op. cit., p. 62-63; Wanderer, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," etc.
[2] Op. cit., p. [illegible]
[illegible] cont. this, p. 263.—Fondi[illegible]

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Dan schoon deze land-aerds onbeslepen van herssenen, vull en rouw van leven sijn, bewijsen echter de wet der volken zoo wel ongeschonden onder hen in onderhout te sijn, als onder de gemanierste volken van Europa: want behalven sy dat in menige voorvallen hebben doen blijken, kan tot een staal, of proefstuk, daer van dienen, 't geen de Goringhaiquas of Kaepmans, die des jaers sestien hondert en negen-en-vijftigh met d'onsen in twist en onvenigheit vervallen waeren, op de vraegh, wat reden sy hadden om den onsen de oulusien aen te doen, en de beesten weg te roven, tot antwoort gaven, te weten, uit gene andere inzichten sulx te geschieden, als om hun leet en ongelijk te wreken, over het wegh-nemen en benaien van hunne vallanden door d'onsen, gelijk alree vooren verhaelt is.

In milt en troubeit tegen hun naesten, schijnen sy de Neerlanders te beschamen, en ten aenziene als d'een wat heeft, dat den ander gewilligh[illegible] sal mede delen: ja, al waert noch soo klein, soo trachten sy altijts met elkandre broederlijk te parten en te delen: want het steiem geschiet somtijts onder hen, door 't eten van den wortel dacha, dien sy met water mengen, en indrinken, en daer door dronken worden, en hen dan onwetende te buiten gaen: anderen, geperst door armoede, soeken wel hier en daer wat achterom te halen, doch moeten sulx, in 't licht gekomen, dier met de huit betalen. Dan sijn onbeschaemt, en laten om een klein stukje broot of tabak, al 't gen wat sy hebben.

Daer schijnt nochtans by hen ook een vonk van hovaerdye te sijn: want alsse sy d'onsen aen het Fort van goeder hope komen, dan hangen sy hunne vuilste beenneerste en stinkendste vellen om, en hebben d'oeren en hals verçiert, met rode en kopere geie kralen, achtende sich dan wonder prachtigh gestoffeert en uitgestreken te sijn.

Daer wort onder hen, in hoe slechten en armelijken staet sy leven, evenwel een hoog-hertigheit gevonden: gemerkt d'eene magerye tegen d'andere niet wil zwichten, en voor elkandre buigen: maer sullen veel liever den oorlogh aenseggen. De geen, die de wegs bevecht, speelt niet alleen heer en meester voor die reise, maer altijts braveert hy over sijnen overwonnen vyant.

(*) See above, p. 12.

(*) Many observers have commented favourably upon the liberality and hospitality of the Hottentots. A man in possession of food, tobacco, and other objects of common use, shares, and is expected to share, them with others, and greediness in this

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Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described *).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner **). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root dacha, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze **).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brass-coloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, op. cit., 228).

**) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a custome taught them by some ill-bred Boors, our men I hope have more civility" (Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Africaes, 16.) Cf. also Ten Rhyne (below, p. 115).

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Ti χoma! My lioness! 542

!Gaibiba ǂate! Art thou afraid that I will bewitch 539
thee?

Gomaa ke ǂnasi ǂgeni ǂomatt!

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Nazere! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me!

ǂGobi-tikatere! Pour for me (milk)!

Ti χoma! My lioness.

Gei khoiba daa! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or [540]
sister's daughter, "*Ti χoma*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still taken, was 542
to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this 541
name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his 577 ●
finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her 576
from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (*ǂgaru-ti*) and of bending poles 174
(*ǂgaua-gu*) for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk-vessels (*ǂhoa-ti*), and wooden dishes (*ǂoreti*), and wooden basins and bowls (*a-χo-ti* or *ǂgaki-ti*), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same clay and ground-quartz. I have frag- [175]
ments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old 723
style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap
(*gei ǂā-s, to boil, to cook ǂai*).